

tion of such letters. The complainants are at least entitled to the relief that publicity of their grievance may bring them. A helpless India can not do more for her exiles. The letter is signed by three persons. I purposely refrain from publishing their names in order to protect them against harm being done to them by their officers. It will be noticed that the writers have written to those whose names they have read in papers. The writers complain of ill-treatment by the Arabs. I do not wonder. Helpless themselves, the Arabs vent their wrath against the Indian soldiers and clerks in the hope, I suppose, that they will not dare to offer for service in Mesopotamia. Let me hope that the publicity I am giving the letter will deter others from being allured thereto by tempting offers. In no case should a self-respecting Indian make of the misfortune of the brave Arabs a means of livelihood. I give the letter word for word as received, omitting references to the corps after the names of victims.

M. K. G.

Dear Sir,

We have written you several letters, but it seems none has reached you. Indian, of all ranks and grades serving in Mesopotamia are in a more pitiable condition than our bretheren in Africa and China for whom you have done so much. We are nearer home, but there is none to help us, our treatment by the British and Arabs are worse than that of dogs, being in Military service we have no chance of appeal or complaint.

If you can start No-co-operation here, Government may be coerced in a day what they would not have given in India in a decade. Without us work cannot be carried out here, by constant and systematic ill-treatment, we are afraid, we are losing even the capacity of resenting. We are worse than slaves here. I give here a few instances out of thousands to enable you to sympathize with us and to do something for us.

1. Before we came here we were given several promises but very few of them are fulfilled.

2. We are entitled to one month's leave in a year but that there are people who are serving since 1916 have not given even one day's leave.

3. Arrears pay of followers as a rule are pocketed in their respective depots in India.

4. People are compelled to renew their agreements by criminalism, conditions, and false hopes.

5. People are unnecessarily harassed in Rest Camp while waiting for the passage, even the clerks have to do menial works as road-making etc. While waiting for passage, some are waiting since October 1920.

6. The members of jail Corps are made to do even sweeper's work, there are several Brahmins and other high class Hindus who are doing the dirty work against their will.

7. People are recruited in India as Hospital orderlies etc, but when they come here they find that they are to clean latrines; when recruited for Sanitary Section they are told that they shall have to do dusting etc. but they are latrine cleaners. There are hundreds of highclass people doing this work.

8. With the authorities the religion of Indians does not count, there are several cases in which Mohammedans are burnt by Hindus and Hindus have been buried by Mohammedans etc. When protest has been made the usual reply "It is Field Service" what does when man is dead.

9. There are several Indian Chaplains to look after the Indian Christians but there is no Brahmin priest or Moulvi for the Hindus and Mohammedans, by what regulations Indian Chaplains have been appointed and are paid by the Indian Tax Payers.

10. That there is one Indian Chaplain Rev. Waris Din of Lahore whose business is to visit units and mislead people, in one of his lectures he said that in the Panjab there is only one loyal man that is he himself and that Indians should not go back to India as there are troubles awaiting them. This was brought to the notice of the authorities who have conferred on him M. B. E. for frightening men to remain here.

11. One Mr. Sheshiyar B. A. happened to displease his officers, who to humiliate him asked before others, "well Babu are you not people of your education and standing clean our boots in India why then you take abusive words to ill"

12. Mr. Roberts an Indian Christian Store-keeper, on the strength of an anonymous letter was given 30 stripes and reduced to a labourer, he was a head-master of one English school in India.

13. Mr. Gaikewad 2nd. clerk, on a false charge was awarded 25 stripes, after receiving 12 he fell unconscious and had to be sent back to India as invalided—We hear he has since died.

14. Londhe of Ahmadnagar, was kicked by his officer and he died, his body was thrown into the river which was not allowed to be recovered and quietly burnt at night.

15. Overseer Basan Singh, and Ram Dittmar for no fault of theirs were severely kicked and beaten by the Arab Police and Civilians in the Bazaar but they had no redress. The British authorities told them that they do well to remember that they are living in the country of the Arabs so they must be prepared for such things, those two gentlemen were put up in the Police lock-up.

Our only hope is in you you must save us from all such indignities and ill treatment. If Indians in Mesopotamia are sure of your support they may present a bold front. Please someone to help us here or get us recalled at once.

Yours fellow citizen.

Copy to:—Late Maj. Rai Dr. Anand, Mr. Mazharul Haq, Babu Basinchara Das, C. B. Das Esq. Mou and Shaukatali.

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Young India, Ahmedabad.

Young India

Ahmedabad, Wednesday, 27th April, 1921.

THE CURSE OF BETTING.

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

"You will earn the gratitude and thanks of thousands of wives, both European and Indian, if you can succeed in putting a stop to betting at the races. My husband was an ideal husband—until he took to betting at the races. We are now in debt, and, although he draws a good salary and does not drink alcohol, we are hard up, and I am sure this is the experience of very many wives. I have often implored him on my bended knees not to go to the races but to no purpose. And does it not seem very hard that wives and children should suffer because their husbands cannot refrain from going to the races and losing money?"

It is true that alcohol is ruining thousands, but betting at the races is certainly ruining tens of thousands.

By practically robbing the public, the W. I. T. Club can afford to pay its European employees handsome salaries. If you were only in the know I am sure you would agree with me that hanky-panky tricks are carried on by the Turf Club, and thus the public are cheated and robbed of a lot of money. Do, for God's sake, try, and right matters. Things were certainly better when the book-makers were allowed to take bets on the race-course.

Sir, I am sure you are acquainted with a number of men on the new Councils, and, with their aid, I do hope you will succeed in putting a stop to betting at the races. If Government would take over and manage the totes, I am sure, things would be more fair and square. The public invariably lose, and those who win are the owners of horses and their trainers and jockeys; and is it not a scandalous shame that Government should connive at it, simply because some of their big officials are keenly interested in horse racing?

I had better not offer my signature to this letter as my husband is in Government service; but I pray that you will interest yourself in what I have written and succeed in stopping betting at the races."

This letter has been travelling with me for some time. The reader will share my feelings that it is a pathetic letter. Anonymous letters are rarely valuable. But this one is certainly an exception, though the writer has chosen not to disclose her name.

I know nothing of horse-racing. I have ever looked upon it with horror for its associations. I know that many men have been ruined on the race course.

But I must confess I have not had the courage to write anything against it. Having seen even an Aga Khan, prelates, viceroys, and those that are considered the best in the land, openly patronising it and spending thousands upon it, I have felt it to be useless to write about it. As a journalist and reformer, my function is to call public attention to those vices about which there is likelihood of public opinion being created. Much as I disapprove of vaccination I deem it to be waste of effort to draw public attention to the evil. I must own that I have not the courage to bring the drink

traffic in the campaign of purification. It has been unsought. The people have taken it up of their own accord.

The surest sign that Non-co-operation is a movement of purification is that many abuses are being removed by the people without any guidance or preaching. And it is in such hope about betting that I have published the above letter.

I am aware that the writer would be satisfied merely with some modification. What is required is a total destruction of the pest. Betting at races is a part of the gambling mania. If only the people will non-co-operate, the evil will die a natural death. Thousands who attend the race-course do so merely for fun. They attend either to see horses run breathlessly, or because it is the fashion, but they, nevertheless, aid and abet the ruin of many a gambler.

But betting is, I apprehend, more difficult to deal with than drinking. When vice becomes a fashion and even a virtue, it is a long process to deal with it. Betting is not only fashionable but is hardly regarded as a vice. Not so drinking. Fortunately, it is still the fashion to consider drinking a weakness, if not positively a vice. Every religion has denounced it with more or less vehemence. But betting has escaped such special attention. Let us hope however that the vigilant public will find a more innocent recreation than attending the race course, and thus show its disapproval of gambling at the race course.

THE DRINK EVIL.

I have just come across this most apposite statement, quoted by the 'Indian Witness' of Lucknow from the speech of Lord Chesterfield in the House of Lords, in 1748, against the British Excise and Licence revenue derived from intoxicating drink. It reads as follows:—

"Luxury, my lords, is to be taxed, but vice must be prohibited. Let the difficulties in executing the law be what they will. Will you lay a tax on the breach of the Commandments? Would not such a tax be wicked and scandalous, because it would imply an indulgence to all those who would pay the tax? This Bill [to license liquor-shops for the sale of revenue] contains the conditions, on which the people are to be allowed henceforth to riot in debauchery, licensed by law and countenanced by magistrates. For, there is no doubt, but those in authority will be directed by their masters to assist in their design to encourage the consumption of that liquor, from which such large revenues are expected.

"When I consider, my Lords, the tendency of the Bill, I find it only for the propagation of disease, the suppression of industry, and the destruction of mankind. I find it the most fatal engine that was ever pointed at a people—an engine, by which all those who are not killed will be disabled, and those who preserve their wits will be deprived of their senses."

Lord Chesterfield was no Puritan, his own morals were not high, if judged by the Christian standard. But this licensing of gin-shops, for the sake of revenue, was too much for him. With remarkable precision, he then pointed out exactly what would happen, if a Bill were passed in England. The authorities, he said, were bound to endeavour to increase the revenue. In this way, they would promote the liquor-traffic itself, and become panders to vice. We know for certain this has happened in England. We know, also, that England has imported this evil into India, and that the British Empire in India has been built up, with liquor-traffic as one of its financial foundations and with opium-traffic as another. So true is this that the argument openly used in the Behar Legislative Assembly by the Executive members of the Council was, in so many words, that the Government could not be carried on without its 'drink' revenue.

In the Government of India Legislative Assembly, the answer given by Sir William Vincent was more non-committal than that given in Behar. When the question was asked:—

"Is there any truth in the allegation, that men have been prosecuted for preaching temperance?" Sir William instantly replied,—

"Certainly not! Government has never opposed any one advocating the cause of temperance only. When violence is used then persons are prosecuted."

This is all very well as a copy-book maxim. But when the Government of India make a profit each year of 17 crores of rupees out of its licensing and excise for 'liquors and drugs,' and when Government has a special department, whose sole interest it is to collect this revenue, and when promotion in this service depends largely on the effectiveness of revenue collection, is it not certain that what Lord Chesterfield predicted will happen? Is it not certain that, "those in authority will be directed by their masters to assist in their design to encourage the consumption of that liquor, from which such large revenues are expected?"

Again, if this is the actual position and standing of Government officials as collectors of revenue from drink and drugs; if their profession is of such character that promotion depends upon effective collection, then, is it not a foregone conclusion (human nature being what it is) that these officials will endeavour to the utmost of their power to prevent forcibly voluntary temperance workers, who wish to reclaim drunkards, from carrying on their beneficent work? What is easier than to trump up a charge of violence or intimidation against them, and have them stopped or imprisoned by law?

Before coming out to India, when I was quite young, I lived among the very poor for many years in Sunderland and in South East London. My room, in which I lived and slept, was in their midst, and I knew everything that was going around me. I have no hesitation in saying that five-sixths of the misery, the destitution, the crime, the sickness, and even infantile mortality, which I thus saw with my own eyes, was due to

intemperance. This intemperance was being fostered by the all-powerful licensed Victuallers' Trade, which was carried on under the direct licence of the British Government, and with an yearly profit to Government that ran into more than a hundred million pounds sterling, even in my own recollection of nearly 30 years ago.

Those sights, which I saw then—nay, those sights which I lived among them—have been branded on my memory for all time. They can never be effaced! The horror of them can never be forgotten as long as I live—never! Only those who know the drunkenness of the slums of London can understand what I have described in India during these later years of my life, since I landed at Bombay in March, 1901. I have seen a steady increase of intemperance in almost every part of the country, which I have visited. When I first came out, I wrote in one of my books, "I have never once seen in the streets an Indian drunkard"! Alas. I could not write this to-day. I have seen drunkenness wide-spread in *Perambur*, among the Madras labourers, it was not an uncommon sight in Bombay. I have seen it also in Calcutta. And I have witnessed the same miserable spectacle in the country-districts, also—men intoxicated with country-liquor. I have seen Indian women intoxicated also. Still further, in this very district where I live, in Bengal the whole country-side has deteriorated, owing to two main causes, (i) malaria, and (ii) the drink and drug habit, which has been steadily and insidiously increasing.

Our student workers have been making a noble effort to get the villagers to give up intoxicants. The people have now abandoned drink in large numbers, and license-holders of liquor shops under Government, have approached me and asked me whether they can throw up their licenses as they do not wish to go on any longer with the drink-traffic. The question is now going to be put to the licensing authorities themselves, whether they are ready to allow licenses to be cancelled, we shall find out how far Sir William Vincent's maxim holds good, when he said:

"Certainly not. Government have never opposed any one advocating the cause of temperance only".

Will Government oppose these repentant liquor vendors? O. F. Andrews.

P. S.

The following quotation from "The World and New Dispensation" seems to sum up the whole matter. It writes: "The majority of Hindus are teetotallers by nature, and to the true Moslem, religious instruction notes drink *haram*. Shall not, then, Hindus and Moslems join hands in forcing the Government to abolish the excise altogether?...Now that the country as a whole is working towards this end, let us concentrate our efforts, and push forward the work through the press, the pulpit, and (wherever possible) through chosen bands of workers. Behold the light of heaven in the country today! Behold the spirit of God walking and working among the people."

EXCISE—AND WHAT IT MEANS.

III

A STUDY IN FIGURES.

In our last article, we sketched in broad outlines the methods of manufacture and the systems of sale. It should be borne in mind that taxation in various forms is imposed upon all intoxicating liquors and drugs as well as spirits, that the right of manufacturing country-spirits and liquors is auctioned, except where liquor is supplied from Central Government distilleries, when a still-head duty is imposed before it reaches the retail-seller who had purchased the right of retail-vending at the annual, biennial, or triennial auction. We shall now examine the excise revenue—the figures show the revenue derived by the Government, not the

amount actually spent by the people, which is considerably more. The curious may ascertain this amount by adding 10% to the gross Revenue returns (column 1). 10% is a low estimate. It includes the hire and up-keep of the shop. It includes the pay of the assistants and servants employed, as well as the profits of the owner. In our own opinion, it would be a safe assumption to allow 15%—the retail-sellers are notoriously rich and prosperous.

And now to the figures. The first column shows the gross revenue realized by Government, the second the amount realised from custom-duties on liquors and spirits imported into the country from abroad. The last column (5) shows the net revenue i.e. total revenue from the first two heads (col. 3) minus the total expenditure (col. 4)

Years.	1 Gross Revenue	2 Custom Duties	3 Total Revenue (1+2)	4 Expenditure and Charges	5 Net Revenue (3-4)
1880-81	Rs. 3,13,52,260	37,98,360	3,51,50,620	9,51,040	3,41,96,580
1885-83	Rs. 4,15,21,360	41,08,100	4,57,19,460	12,43,720	4,44,75,740
1890-91	Rs. 4,94,77,800	60,09,000	5,54,86,800	17,49,310	5,37,36,990
1895-96	Rs. 5,72,24,170	66,25,860	6,38,50,030	10,79,570	6,17,70,460
1900-01	Rs. 5,90,88,030	69,38,205	6,59,96,235	24,17,640	6,35,78,595
1905-06	Rs. 8,52,17,300	97,40,000	9,50,57,300	38,71,340	9,11,85,560
1910-11	Rs. 10,54,54,715	1,20,53,394	11,75,08,109	60,89,904	11,14,13,205
1915-16	Rs. 12,94,83,132	1,17,90,000	14,12,73,132	70,61,095	13,42,12,037
1916-17	Rs. 13,82,38,495	1,25,13,946	15,07,52,044	71,79,474	14,35,72,967
1917-18	Rs. 15,44,25,590	1,09,96,886	16,54,22,476	73,00,000	15,81,22,476
1918-19	Rs. 17,35,52,770	1,10,65,351	18,46,18,121	82,00,000	17,64,18,121

The figures tell their own deplorable tale. It is no small sum that the Government derives from the peoples' vice. Since 1905, it has been the *largest* item of revenue excepting the revenue from land! The growth of revenue too has been progressive. The figures in columns 1, 3, and 5, show that the revenue has increased with an uncanny regularity. Till 1910, the revenue may be said to have doubled itself every twenty years.

NET REVENUE.

1880-81 ... 341 lakhs. 1890-91 ... 537 lakhs
1900-01 ... 635 lakhs. 1910-11 ... 11,14 lakhs

In the period 1895-1915, the revenue had more than doubled itself from 617 lakhs to 1,342 lakhs. But, gathering momentum in its progress, even this rate has now increased. In 1910-11 the net revenue stood at 11,14 lakhs. In 1918-19 it had reached the unprecedented figure of 17,64 lakhs, increasing by half in a period of eight—and not ten—years.

The figures of the actual amount of increase convey their own meaning. The eight years

1910-18 show an increase of 650 lakhs, whereas it required a period of 25 years (1885-1910) to show an increase of almost the same amount, viz. 670 lakhs.

A graph of the annual net revenue from 1880-81 to 1918-19 would show very much the same results. Starting from 1880-81, when the net revenue was 341 lakhs, the line of our graph would shoot up till 1895-96—an unbroken period of 25 years—when the net revenue stood at 617 lakhs. The two following years would show a slight drop of 26 lakhs, but in 1898-99, with the net revenue at 619 lakhs, the line again rises to a point above that of 1895-96. From 1898-99 the line again shoots, only at a less inclined angle, for the next 10 years, with the revenue, in 1913-14, standing at 14,02 lakhs. There is again a drop of 60 lakhs, in the next two years, but like a towering falcon, it soars as if in scorn, from 14,35 lakhs in 1916-17 to 17,64 lakhs in 1918-19.

(To be continued.)

MR. GANDHI & THE SUPPRESSED CLASSES.

A CHAPTER OF AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

Mr. Gandhi presided at the Suppressed Classes Conference held in Ahmedabad on the 13th and 14th instant. There was a large attendance of ladies and gentlemen from the town, though the number of the untouchables was much less than expected, a rumour having spread in the town that Government would arrest those of them who attended.

Mr. Gandhi regretted in the beginning this small attendance, and said that, incidentally as the present, took away what little faith he had in conferences as an effective agency of social reform. If therefore he occupied the audience shorter than they expected, it would be because his remarks would not reach all he meant to address and not because his enthusiasm for the work was in any way damped. He was also thankful for the fact that the conference had brought him the pleasure of meeting friends on the same platform it was not usual for him nowadays to meet—friends, cooperation with whom used to be a pleasure and privilege, but from whom the present conditions had unfortunately cut him off. It was happy, however, that on the question of untouchability he was in the same boat as they.

Coming to the subject he said, 'I do not know how I am to convince those who oppose the reform, of the wrong position they have taken. How am I to plead with those who regard any contact with the members of the suppressed community as entailing defilement and of which they cannot be cleansed without necessary ablutions, and who thus regard omission to perform the ablutions a sin? I can only place before them my innermost convictions.

'I regard untouchability as the greatest blot on Hinduism. This idea was not brought home to me by my bitter experiences during the S. African struggle. It is not due to the fact that I was once an agnostic. It is equally wrong to think—as some people do—that I have taken my views from my study of Christian religious literature. These views date as far back as the time when I was neither enamoured of, nor was acquainted with, the Bible or the followers of the Bible.

'I was hardly yet twelve when this idea had dawned on me. A scavenger named Uka, an untouchable, used to attend our house for cleaning latrines. Often I would ask my mother why it was wrong to touch him, why I was forbidden to touch him. If I accidentally touched Uka, I was asked to perform the ablutions, and though I naturally obeyed, it was not without smilingly protesting that untouchability was not sanctioned by religion, that it was impossible that it should be so. I was a very dutiful and obedient child and so far as it was consistent with respect for parents, I often had tussles with them on this matter. I told my mother that she was entirely wrong in considering physical contact with Uka as sinful.

'While at school I would often happen to touch the "untouchables", and as I never would conceal the fact from my parents, my mother would tell me that the shortest cut to purification after the unholy touch was to cancel the touch by touching any Mussalman passing by. And simply out of reverence and regard for my mother I often did so, but never did so believing it to be a religious obligation. After some time we shifted to Porebandar, where I made my first acquaintance with Sanskrit. I was not yet put to an English school, and my brother and I were placed in charge of a Brahmin, who taught us *Ram Raksha* and *Vishnu Pranjay*. The texts '*jale Vishnuh*' '*sthalale Vishnuh*' (there is the Lord (present) in water, there is the Lord (present) in earth) have never gone out of my memory. A motherly old dame used to live close by. Now it happened that I was very timid then, and would conjure up ghosts and goblins whenever the lights went out, and it was dark. The old mother, to disabuse me of fears, suggested that I should mutter the *Ramaraksha* texts whenever I was afraid, and all evil spirits would fly away. This I did and, as I thought, with good effect. I could never believe then that there was any text in the *Ramaraksha* pointing to the contact of the 'untouchables' as a sin. I did not understand its meaning then, or understood it very imperfectly. But I was confident that *Ramaraksha*, which could destroy all fear of ghosts, could not be countenancing any such thing as fear of contact with the 'untouchables'.

'The *Ramayana* used to be regularly read in our family. A Brahmin called Latha Maharaj used to read it. He was stricken with leprosy, and he was confident that a regular reading of the *Ramayana* would cure him of leprosy, and, indeed, he was cured of it. 'How can the *Ramayana*,' I thought to myself, 'in which one who is regarded now-a-days as an untouchable took Rama across the Ganges in his boat, countenance the idea of any human beings being 'untouchables' on the ground that they were polluted souls?' The fact that we addressed God as the 'purifier of the polluted' and by similar appellations, shows that it is a sin to regard any one born in Hinduism as polluted or untouchable—that it is satanic to do so. I have hence been never tired of repeating that it is a great sin. I do not pretend that this thing had crystallised as a conviction in me at the age of twelve, but I do say that I did then regard untouchability as a sin. I narrate this story for the information of the Vaishnavas and Orthodox Hindus.

'I have always claimed to be a *Sanatani* Hindu. It is not that I am quite innocent of the scriptures. I am not a profound scholar of Sanskrit. I have read the *Vedas* and the *Upanishads* only in translations. Naturally therefore mine is not a scholarly study of them. My knowledge of them is in no way profound, but I have studied them as I should do as a Hindu and I claim to have grasped their true spirit. By the time I had reached the age of 21, I had studied other religions also,

'There was a time when I was wavering between Hinduism and Christianity. When I recovered my balance of mind, I felt that to me salvation was possible only through the Hindu religion and my faith in Hinduism grew deeper and more enlightened.

'But even then I believed that untouchability was no part of Hinduism; and, that if it was, such Hinduism was not for me.

'True, Hinduism does not regard untouchability as a sin. I do not want to enter into any controversy regarding the interpretation of the shastras. It might be difficult for me to establish my point by quoting authorities from the *Bhagwat* or *Manusmriti*. But I claim to have understood the spirit of Hinduism. Hinduism has sinned in giving sanction to untouchability. It has degraded us, made us the pariahs of the Empire. Even the Mussalmans caught the sinful contagion from us, and in S. Africa, in E. Africa and in Canada the Mussalmans no less than Hindus came to be regarded as pariahs. All this evil has resulted from the sin of untouchability.

(To be continued.)

N.-C.-O. in Andhra.

Mr. K. Venkatappayya has sent a preliminary list of collections for the Swaraj Fund made during Mr. Gandhi's tour through the Andhra districts. The total amount of cash is Rs. 21,902-13-2½ which is of course exclusive of the jewels and ornaments collected in different places.

VIZAGPATAM DISTRICT.

Vizianagaram ...	...	459-3-0
Anakapalli ...	...	200-0-0
Patnari Swami Babu Garu, Narasannapet	...	200-0-0
Other collections. ...	...	57-2-9
		916-10-9

KRISHNA DISTRICT.

Ellore including Nidadavolu & other intermediate stations	1021-14-4½
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MASULIPATAM.

Balance at Co-Operative Bank, Masula, (including the amount Rs. 1716) given by Kanuru China Venkatasoyya Garu	...	7373-6-0
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GUNTUR DISTRICT.

Guntur	727-15-5
Chebrole, Munipalle, Manchalla, Tadipattu	813-0-3
Ponnur & Appikatta, Other villages.	...	825-0-4
Bapatla Town's people ...	...	825-0-0
Brahmandam Lakshminarayana Garu, Bapatla ...	...	1116-0-0
Chirala	2828-14-9
China Ganjam	232-0-0
		7363-4-9

NELLORE DISTRICT.

Nellore.	2411-1-7
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TOTAL 21902-13-2½

A NON-BRAHMIN'S COMPLAINT.

To The Editor,

Young India.

Sir,

Mr. Gandhi made some remarks regarding Brahmins and non-Brahmins in the course of his lecture at the Beach in Madras last Friday. His speech has caused great pain to the non-Brahmin nationalists of Madras. It would have been highly preferable if Mr. Gandhi had not at all touched on this point; for from his speech it was evident that he was completely ignorant of Dravidian civilization, religion, culture, and the inner meaning and causes of the present non-Brahmin movement. He does not seem to have recognized the special features of Dravidian civilization which marks off South India from the rest of India. In praising the Brahmins for their contribution to the religion and civilization of India (probably he means North India), he has involuntarily cast a slur on the Non-Brahmins whose ancestors have also contributed as much as, if not more than, the Brahmins to the glory of South India as seen in their literature, religion, and philosophy.

It need hardly be pointed out that nothing can offend a whole community like a slur of the above kind, even though it may be done unwittingly by one whose heart is overflowing with love, and for whom the community has the highest regard. Further, the object of Mr. Gandhi's recent visit and proposed long tour in the South in the middle of the next month is, we may take to strengthen the cause, and propagate the movement of Non-cooperation.

Surely, making hasty and flippant remarks about a highly vexed question, is likely to weaken the cause he advocates and, estrange the sympathies of a vast majority of the masses who feel strongly on the matter.

If he really wants to bridge the gulf unhappily widening between the Brahmins and non-Brahmins of South India, let Mr. Gandhi take up the question in right earnest with an entirely blank and open mind, and then he may in all probability be in a position, after careful study to find out a solution for the problem. Otherwise he will do well in the interest of the great Non-co-operation movement, to leave severely alone the Brahmin and Non-Brahmin controversy, in the course of his forthcoming long tour in South India.

Madras, 11th April, 1921

C. KANDASWAMY.

[I have received more letters in a similar strain. The correspondents have clearly misunderstood me. I have not seen the report of my speech. I do not therefore know whether it lends itself to mis-interpretation. But I claim that the Brahmins' service to Hinduism or humanity is unaffected and undiminished by the achievements of the Dravidian civilisation which nobody denies or disputes. I warn the correspondents against segregating the Dravidian South from the Aryan North. The India of today is a blend not only of two but, of many other, cultures. M. K. G.]

NOTICE

It has been decided to hold the fifth Gujarat Political Conference at Broach on 28th and 29th May, 1921. The first meeting of the reception Committee will be held on the 21st inst.